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The post-palatial period of Greece. An Aegean prelude to the 11th century B.C. in Cyprus

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Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy

The find of the inscribed obelos no.16 of T.49 of the Palaipaphos-*Skales* cemetery was a precious gift to all scholars of Hellenic Studies (V. Karageorghis 1983, 61; E. et O. Masson 1983, 411-15). Presenting the man's name of */Opheltās/* in the genitive case, the inscription displays the phonetic change of *-o* > *-υ* in a final word position. */Opheltau/* is therefore a testimony to the fact that as early as in the 11th century B.C. the Greek speaking population of Cyprus had already developed certain language features which were characteristic of the classical Cypriot Greek dialect (e.g. Thumb, Scherer 1959, 141-74; Schmitt 1977, 87-94). Moreover, the change of final *-o* > *-υ* is among those dialectal features which Cypriot had in common with the Arcadian dialect of the central Peloponnese (Buck 1955, 144-7; Chadwick 1988, 57ff.; Risch 1988, 70ff.). Since the decipherment of the Linear B script, it is further an established fact that both Arcadian and Cypriot were, in their turn, closely related to the language of the documents of the Mycenaean palace administration. This very ancient Greek dialect was apparently spoken by the officials—and presumably also by the leading social groups—of the Mycenaean palaces of the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. The scholarly opinions on the nature of the relationship between Mycenaean, Arcadian and Cypriot diverge. Some authors hold the view that Mycenaean was the parent both of Arcadian and of Cypriot. Others claim that it was a dialect of its own, albeit closely related to the predecessor(s)[1] of the other two (for a survey see e.g. Panagl 1983, 332-9, 341-8).

In any case, the linguistic data suggest that during the period when Linear B was written, Arcadian and Cypriot—or else the ancestor(s) of these two dialects—must have had a close relationship with Mycenaean on the Greek mainland. At some point, the Cypriot dialect must have later been transferred to the island, presumably by immigrants from Greece proper. The */Opheltau/* inscription testifies to the fact that by the time when this obelos was deposited in Tomb 49 at Palaipaphos-*Skales*, this process and, together with it, the Hellenization of Cyprus were well advanced if not completed.

However, the historian who acknowledges the high antiquity of the */Opheltau/* inscription cannot avoid noticing that its date of ca. the second half of the 11th century B.C. was still separated by about 150 years from the latest attestations of Mycenaean Greek in the Linear B tablets. This is true even if we allow for a certain period between the introduction of Cypriot Greek into the island and the burial of the obelos, during which time the Cypro-Minoan script was borrowed and adapted to the represent the Greek language (O. Masson 1983, 413f.). The archaeological context of the Palaipaphian obelos offers a *terminus ante quem* not only of the introduction of Cypriot Greek into this island but also of the Arcado-Cypriot isogloss of the phonetic development of final *-o* > *-υ*. The question therefore is: When did the process of the

1. According to authors like Buck 1955; Willetts 1988; Morpurgo-Davies 1992, Arcadian and Cypriot either derived from one common ancestor or at least shared, at a certain period, a common development before they were separated. By contrast, other authors hold the opinion that Arcadian and Cypriot were two separate dialects from the beginning of Greek dialect diversification, however closely related (e.g. Chadwick 1988, 61; Brixhe 1991, 265; Peters 1986).

Hellenization of Cyprus start? And what kind of process was it?

On the level of Greek dialectology, the discussion of relative chronology starts from the fact that the Arcado-Cypriot change of final *-o* > *-υ* was not shared by Mycenaean Greek (Chadwick 1988, 59; Risch 1988, 71): Genitives singular of masculine stems in */- ās/* like Cypriot */Opheltau/* and Arcadian Καλλίαυ contrast with Mycenaean forms like *a-ko-so-ta-o* (of a man's name */Alksoitās/* vel sim., cf. PY Cn 40.3,7 etc.).[2]

Thus, if we apply the traditional criteria of classification and valuation of ancient Greek dialect isoglosses (Adrados 1952; Risch 1988; 1991), the phonetic change of final *-o* > *-υ* which was a characteristic feature both of Arcadian and of Cypriot can be dated between the end of the Mycenaean Linear B literacy and, let's say, the mid-11th century B.C. In archaeological terms, this period of the 12th and the earlier 11th centuries B.C. is called Late Helladic (LH) IIIC and Submycenaean in the Aegean, and Late Cypriot (LC) III in Cyprus.

By the same token, several other Arcado-Cypriot isoglosses which were absent from, or at least not attested in the Mycenaean Greek documents are equally classified as "post-Mycenaean" innovations, although no closer chronological framework is offered (cf. Chadwick 1988, 57ff.; Risch 1988, 71ff.). However, E. Risch has convincingly demonstrated that while many of these non-Mycenaean isoglosses found in Arcadian and Cypriot can be ascribed to common innovations shared by many Greek dialects of the first millennium B.C., some must have been still more archaic than others (Risch 1988, 71, 79). This particular group includes the phonetic change of final *-o* > *-υ* for the genitive of the masculine stems */-ās/* which is absent from all other Greek dialects except for Pamphylian. Similarly, the phonetic change of *e* > *i* in nasal environment occurs in Arcadian and Cypriot, as well as in the earliest inscriptions of Axos, Lyttos, Eleutherna (Jeffery 1990, 315f.). A similar Arcado-Cypriot-Central Cretan isogloss consisted in the replacement of the demonstrative pronoun *ὅδε* by *ὄνυ*.[3] As for Central Crete, these changes were ascribed to influences by a pre-Doric substrata (cf. Risch 1988, 71; Chadwick 1988, 58; Willetts 1988, 47). It is, however, not possible to define the time when the Dorians immigrated into the Peloponnese and Crete. Hence a *terminus ante quem* of the *e* > *i* phonetic change as mentioned above cannot be given. On the other hand, a *terminus post quem* may be inferred from the fact that the Linear B texts invariably contain the preposition *e-n-* (in compounds) as against Arcadian-Cypriot-Central Cretan *ἰν*, as well as participles ending in *-me-no/na* as against Arcadian and Cypriot *-μινος*.

Following this line of argument, the phonetic changes of final *-o* > *-υ* and of *e* > *i* would indicate that the dialectal features characteristic of Cypriot Greek first developed in the course of the post-palatial LH IIIC period of Greece. This observation falls in line with a recent tendency in Greek dialectological and linguistic studies. Scholars in this field of learning are increasingly adopting the opinion that the "dialect geography"[4] of Greece must have been transformed considerably by population movements during the period between the close of the Linear B literacy and the time when the Dorians and the speakers of other NW Greek dialects settled down in their classical homelands (Schmitt 1977, 127ff.; Panagl 1983; Risch 1991; Bartonek 1991). These regroupings seem to have affected the Aeolic dialects (García-Ramón 1975; Miller 1982; Peters 1986; 1989; West 1988), Attic and Ionic (Peters 1989), Pamphylian (Brixhe 1976)

2. The fact that this phonetic change was not universally realized (cf. Cypr. *ku-pa-ra-ko-ra-o* ICS 357; Arc. *τὸ, δέκο;* Myc. *a-pu*) has caused much scholarly dispute, cf. Chadwick 1988; Risch 1988; Brixhe 1989; Morpurgo-Davies 1992.
3. Peters 1986, 315 no. 4 takes it for granted that *ὄνυ* also existed in Aeolic. On Arcado-Cypriot isoglosses with Aeolic see below no. 6.
4. Cf. R. Coleman, The Dialect Geography of Ancient Greece, TPhS 1963, 58-126.

and, of course, Arcadian and Cypriot.[5]

If we thus apply the traditional relative chronological system of the Greek dialects, the post-Linear B isoglosses in Arcadian and Cypriot which were not shared by Doric nor by Ionic (Risch 1988, 71, 72) should be explained in terms of common innovations and of geographical vicinity. That is to say that there must have been a certain span of time after the collapse of the Mycenaean palace system during which the later speakers of Cypriot were still living close enough to the later speakers of Arcadian to develop, together with them, the above mentioned dialectal changes. This period of convergency between Arcadian and Cypriot should be dated to at least the earlier part of the 12th century B.C.

However, doubts have recently been raised against this relative chronology of the Arcado-Cypriot isoglosses. It is maintained that the change of final *-ο* > *-υ* had already been prepared at the time of the Linear B tablets, either as a social and/or geographical variant (Brixhe 1989, 39ff.), or as an inherent phonetic tendency (Brixhe 1991, 265) and that it was later separately realized by Arcadic, Cypriot and Pamphylian (Brixhe l.c.; Morpurgo-Davies 1992, 427ff.). Morpurgo-Davies would also explain the shift of *e* > *i* in the same way. Leaving aside the long geographical distances between Arcadia, Cyprus, Pamphylia and Crete, this theory confronts us with the problem why the phonetic change of *-ο* > *-υ* was not shared by at least some dialects of the Aeolic group.[6] Moreover, the phonetic changes in question are not represented consistently among Arcadian, Cypriot, Pamphylian and the Central Cretan dialect(s). While the change of *e* > *i* is absent from Pamphylian, the change of *-ο* > *-υ* is not attested in Crete. Furthermore, the change of *-ο* > *-υ* affected the Pamphylian dialect more extensively than Arcadian and Cypriot (Cf. Brixhe 1976, 12; Schmitt 1977, 96; Risch 1988, 71). It may be added that the demonstrative pronoun *ὄνυ* is not present in Pamphylian while it is found in the other three dialects.

Furthermore, in those areas where the breakdown of the Palace system and Linear B literacy was not immediately followed by an emigration, particularly in the Argolid, no trace of these phonetic changes influenced the later Doric dialects. Therefore, even if Brixhe and Morpurgo-Davies have rightly argued, it cannot be proved that the later speakers of Cypriot set off to Cyprus immediately after the end of LH IIIB: because it cannot be proved that they came from the region of a palace state. They could have come from any part of the Peloponnese, particularly if indeed a common Arcado-Cypriot dialect had already existed synchronously with Mycenaean Greek. In this case, a *terminus post quem* for the development of the final *-ο* > *-υ* shift cannot possibly be found.

As to the region where the later Cypriot Greeks ought to be sought before they departed for Cyprus, there is no decisive evidence. It is obvious that it must have been somewhere in the Peloponnese. According to the literary traditions, Greek settlers came to Cyprus from Arcadia (Tegea), Laconia (Therapne), Achaia (Dyme, Olenos), from the Argolid and from Athens (synoptically e.g. Schachermeyr 1982, 269ff., Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 293-312). A linguistic hint perhaps may be taken from the God's name *Ποhοιδαν* which is found on some Laconian

5. As may be expected, scholarly opinions diverge widely. It should be, however, noted that Cypriot had affinities with Aeolic which were not shared by Ionic, nor by Doric, nor by North-West Greek. They were therefore ancient. But they were not shared by Arcadic, either: Apparently Cypriot was more "aeolized" than Arcadic (cf. e.g. Peters 1989, 15).

6. On Arcado-Cypriot-Aeolic isoglosses cf. Risch 1988, 68f. Some scholars explain them in terms of Aeolic presence in the Peloponnese and in the islands in pre-Doric times. However, while García-Ramón 1975 and West 1988 have argued for a movement of Aeolic speaking population groups to the south during the 12th century B.C., other authors assume that an admixture of Aeolic dialectal features had already characterized the dialects of the Peloponnese during the entire Mycenaean period, that is to say from the 16th century B.C. onwards (Peters 1986; 1989 with ref.).

inscriptions instead of the Doric form of *Ποτειδά(F)ων*.[7] It corresponds to Arcadian *Ποσοιδάν*, while the change of intervocalic *-s-* > *-h-* occurs in literary attestations of Cypriot words (Schmitt 1977, 58, 92f.) As will be argued below, northern Laconia comes into consideration from the archaeological point of view, too. Some archaeological evidence may also be adduced in favour of Western Achaia. However, these deliberations are admittedly very hypothetical.

In summary, the evidence of the development of the Greek dialects no longer supports the still widely believed idea that immediately after the catastrophies of the Mycenaean palaces their inhabitants partly fled to Arcadia while others sought refuge in Cyprus. It has to be pointed out, however, that this theory has increasingly been questioned on account of the recent archaeological findings, as well.

It is impossible to embark here on a description and evaluation of the rich and manifold discoveries which relate to LH IIIC, the "Mycenaean period after the palaces". They have been achieved by excavations and by studies of archaeological find materials in the course of the last two decades (synopses by Schachermeyr 1979, 1980; Kilian 1988; Vanschoonwinkel 1991). In particular, carefully observed tomb contexts (Iacovidis 1969-70) and stratified settlement deposits (Lefkandi: Popham, Milburn 1971; Mycenae: French 1969; Sherratt 1981, chapter 3, Tiryns: Podzuweit 1978, 1979, 1981, 1983, 1988) have allowed to establish a refined typology of the LH IIIC pottery. This, in turn, made it possible to elaborate a new chronology of LH IIIC (Fig. 1) which is based upon diachronic development of the ceramic phenomena (see e.g. Rutter 1977; Schachermeyr 1980, chapters 5-14; Mountjoy 1986, chapters 8-10). By means of this chronology, the archaeological data can now be co-ordinated in a chronological sequence. In other words, the foundations have been laid for a new approach to the history of the Mycenaean post-palatial period.

It appears at once that LH IIIC was by no means a calm and peaceful era. There is no doubt that the closing years of LH IIIB had brought about one of the fundamental turning-points of Greek history. The Mycenaean world had been shaken down to the ground by a series of disasters and destructions which hit the Mycenaean communities from LH IIIB Middle until LH IIIC Early, culminating in the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces at the end of LH IIIB:2 (Fig. 2). As a consequence, the Mycenaean palace civilization was wiped out. Neither the impressive architecture of that period, nor the highly developed palatial arts and crafts, nor the art of writing survived into LH IIIC.

Although the post-palatial period remained fully Mycenaean in character, its general cultural decline cannot be overlooked. The people of LH IIIC either were not able or else not willing to uphold the high cultural achievements of the preceding centuries. In particular everyday life in LH IIIC Early was marked by plainness and regress (Schachermeyr 1980, chapter 5). It is true that, on the other hand, the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces must have rescued the general population from suppression and from overload of taxes and of labour obligations. Furthermore, the Mycenaean regions outside the palace states must have welcomed the liberation from economic monopoly, the cultural lead and presumably also from a certain political predominance which the palaces had doubtless exercised (Deger-Jalkotzy, forthcoming). But it was not until LH IIIC Middle that the positive effects of this liberation stimulated the creative powers of the post-palatial period (see below, 19f).

It is in the realm of social organization, political structure and economy that the upheavals

7. E.g. IG V 1,241; 1,469; 1,1218; 5,1336 – I owe many thanks to Dr. M. Peters (Vienna) for his most helpful discussions and suggestions on the linguistic aspects of this paper.

Tiryns		Mycenae
SH III B Mitte		LH III B 1 (Late)
SH III B Spät		LH III B 2
SH III B Ende		
Übergang SH III B/C	LH III C Early	LH III C Earliest (Linear)
SH III C Früh Phase 1		Tower Phase
Phase 2		
Phase 3		
SH III C Entwickelt	LH III C Middle	LH III C Developed
SH III C Fortgeschritten 1		LH III C Advanced
SH III C Fortgeschritten 2	LH III C Late	LH III C Late
SH III C Spät	Submycenaean	Submycenaean

Fig. 1 .Late Mycenaean Chronology (based on the Argive Sequence), Graphics: A. Bächle/I. Schlor after: Sherratt 1981 (Mycenae), Podzuweit 1978, 1979, 1981, 1983, 1988 (Tiryns).

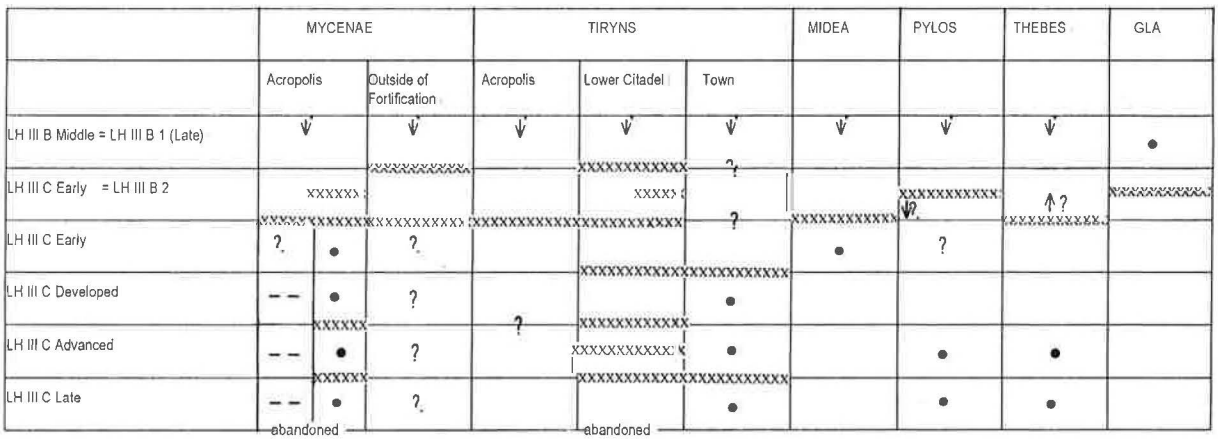

Fig. 2 .Late Mycenaean Destruction at Palace Sites, Graphics: E. Held, after: Kilian 1985, fig. 1a (with adaptations).

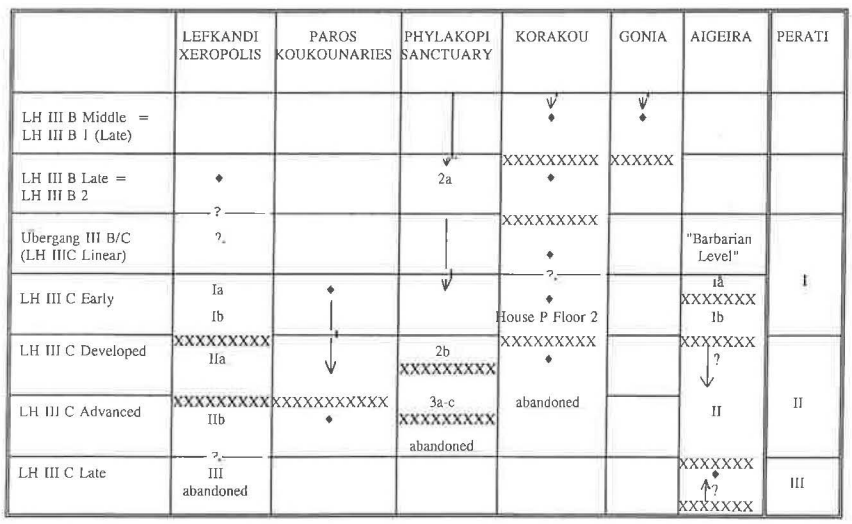

Fig. 3. Stratigraphical Sequence at Various LH IIIC Sites, Graphics: B. Eder, after: Kilian 1985, fig. 1b (with adaptations)

must have led to a deep-rooted change. Neither the palace kingship, nor the supra-regional systems of palatial rule, nor the administrative structures of the palace era survived (Kilian 1985; 1986; Deger-Jalkotzy 1989; 1991a). It safely may be assumed that these thorough-going changes were accompanied by turmoil and a general atmosphere of instability and insecurity. The stratigraphic evidence of most LH IIIC excavation sites is characterized by destruction levels throughout the period (Figs 2, 3; cf. Kilian 1985), not all of them attribuable to natural catastrophies nor to domestic accidents. Some were clearly caused by human action (for a survey cf. Vanschoonwinkel 1991, part 2). Moreover, a number of LH IIIC sites have yielded finds of hoard deposits (Spyropoulos 1972). They testify to a widespread human reaction of protecting one's valuables in times of danger (cf. Knapp, Muhly, Muhly 1988). But their owners never returned to rescue their treasures. The archaeological remains of LH IIIC further suggest that warlike talents were rated highly at that time (finds of weapons and of warrior-tombs: cf. the pertinent chapters of Archaeologia Homerica E; warlike scenes on pictorial vases: Vermeule, Karageorghis 1982, chs. XI-XIII). It is indeed, quite likely that it was during LH IIIC that /*basileus*/ which had been the title of a local functionary (of a "team-leader" type) in the Linear B texts of the palace era, was promoted to become the designation of Greek kings (Deger-Jalkotzy 1989; 1991a).

Military leadership may well have played an essential role during the troubles of the time. LH IIIC was a period of population movements. The archaeological records show that many sites were abandoned, others newly founded (cf. Figs 2 and 3. For references Vanschoonwinkel 1991, ch. 2; cf. also Deger-Jalkotzy 1991a, 62ff.). Some regions like Messenia and Eastern Boeotia were almost depopulated to be resettled only after a period of avoidance. It is noteworthy that these events were by no means confined to LH IIIC Early. The destructions at the end of LH IIIC Middle (=Developed and Advanced, cf. Fig. 1), too, were followed by the rarefaction of settlements in LH IIIC Late and Submycenaean (Fig. 3). On that score, the archaeological evidence seems to agree with the ancient literary traditions about the migrations of Greek tribes "in the aftermath of the Trojan war" (cf. Sakellariou 1990; Schachermeyr 1983). They also fall in line with the background which now linguists attribute to the development and distribution of the Greek dialects (see above, 12f.).

Returning to our subject, it should be remembered that Cyprus, too, went through a period of troubles and disruption at the transition from the 13th to the 12th centuries B.C., or in archaeological terms from LC IIC to LC IIIA (see now Karageorghis 1990). The violent events of that period together with the novel features which thereafter marked the cultural physiognomy of LC IIIA were until recently ascribed to the arrival of Mycenaean refugees in Cyprus who had escaped from LH IIIB disasters in Greece (cf. e.g. Desborough 1964, 196-201; 1975, 659f.; Catling 1975, 207ff.; Schachermeyr 1982). In recent years, however, this opinion has been called into question.

It is, indeed, probable that the disasters at the end of the Mycenaean palace period set in motion a first wave of the LH IIIC population movements which have been mentioned above. Some people seem to have left their homes for safer places within their own region,[8] while others emigrated and sought their new homelands further afield. The depopulation of Messenia and Eastern Boeotia (cf. Fig. 2) may well have had a background of this kind. As for the destinations, central Achaia, Euboea, Eastern Attica, the Cyclades, Crete and the Dodecanese are

8. Argolid: Kilian 1980, 171ff.; 1986, 135; Achaia: Deger-Jalkotzy 1991c, 19; Crete: Kanta 1980, 324f.; Godart-Tzedakis, in: Musti, D., *et. al.* (eds.) 1991, 189ff.

indicated by the archaeological record.[9] Arcadia and the mountainous areas of northern Laconia, too, were perhaps places of refuge, at least on linguistic grounds (cf. above, 12ff.). As to Laconia see Demacopoulou 1982. The archaeological investigation of Arcadia is unsatisfactory.

It is, however, unlikely that these first LH IIIB/C population movements went as far as Cyprus. The ceramic chronology indicates that the Mycenaean destructions at the end of LH IIIB happened at a time when the LC IIC period on Cyprus still flourished (French, Åström 1980; Kling 1984; 1989; Muhly 1984; Dietz 1984, 113; Podzuweit 1987). Moreover, although the first Mycenaean LH IIIC ceramic elements made themselves felt during the final phase of LC IIC, there can be no doubt that this period was still genuinely Cypriot in character (Karageorghis, Demas 1988, 256ff.). It was not until LC IIIA that Mycenaean elements had a formative influence upon the civilization of Cyprus (lately Iacovou 1989, 52f.; Karageorghis 1990; 1991, 85-107).

The view of a cultural change between LC IIC and LC IIIA has been recently disputed by several scholars (Maier 1986; Kling 1989; Sherratt 1992a; 1992b). Without entering into this discussion here, we just note that even opponents to the idea of a substantial Aegean influence on the LC IIIA culture leave the door open to the possibility of regular or even of large-scale immigrations from the Aegean to Cyprus (Sherratt *l.c.*; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 458). It further should be not forgotten that the transition from LC IIC to LC IIIA was, after all, not the result of a peaceful evolution. LC IIIA started off from a background of a disharmonious, and sometimes even violent, close of the LC IIC era (Iacovou 1989; Karageorghis 1990).

On the other hand, it seems very doubtful that the destruction of Cypriot sites at the transition from LC IIC to IIIA, as well as the novel features of the LC IIIA material culture were caused by Mycenaean refugees who had fled after the collapse of the palaces. In the first place, the ceramic chronology does not fit (see above). LC IIIA commenced at a time when the LH IIIC Early phase of the Aegean was already under way. Secondly, it is difficult to pin down any "Mycenaeanizing" phenomenon of LC IIIA to any of the former palace regions of Mainland Greece. By LH IIIB, megaron buildings, central hearths (with and without sherd beddings) and "Cyclopean" type fortifications had spread to other provinces of the Mycenaean world, too.[10] Similarly, it is impossible to connect the Mycenaean characteristics of the LC IIIA pottery with a particular area of the Aegean. Mainland Greek, Cretan and nesiotic features intermingle. Curiously enough, the only real point of convergency between LC IIIA Cyprus and the Peloponnese lies in the town plans of Enkomi, Kition and of the LH IIIC Early town outside the citadel of Tiryns (Kilian 1980, 170f.). Thirdly, on the other hand distinctive Mainland Mycenaean features were absent from LC IIIA, particularly in the fields of religious practices (Hägg 1991) and the burial of the deceased (Iacovou 1989, 52). Above all, the few written documents of LC IIIA do not attest to the use of the Greek language in Cyprus (Karageorghis 1990, 30).

In the end, the archaeological and the linguistic evidence agree that it was, in all probability, not the ancestors of the later speakers of Cypriot Greek who came onto the scene in Cyprus in the early 12th century B.C. Their identity therefore is beyond the aim of this paper. We may only note that the Mycenaean aspects of the LC IIIA material culture indicate that the

9. For Euboea, Eastern Attica, Cyclades cf. our Fig. 3; for Central Achaia Papadopoulos 1979, 175.; for Crete P. Warren, AR 29, 1982/83, 76ff.—On the population increase at Ialysos cf. Mee 1982, 89ff. and French 1986, 281, *contra* Dietz 1984, 115 and Benzi 1992, 224f.

10. Chania: Hallager 1988, 117; Kastrokephala and Mount Iouktas: Kanta 1980, 19; Koukounaries/Paros: D. Schilardi, PAE 1981, 287.

1. Tiryns, LH III C, *from:* SLENCZKA, E. Figürlich bemalte mykenische Keramik aus Tiryns. Tiryns VII, Fig. 9b. Mainz 1974.

2. Kouklia-Xerolimni, 11th century B.C. Kalathos n. 7, detail, *from:* KARAGEORGHIS, V.-DES GAGNIERS, J. La céramique chypriote de style figuré. Âge du fer (1050-500 Av.J.-C.), Paris 1974, p.3.

3. Lefkandi-Xeropolis, LH III C, *from:* POPHAM, M.R.-SACKETT, L.H., Excavations at Lefkandi, Euboea, 1964-66. London 1968, Fig. 39.

4. The Hubbard Amphora, 8th century B.C. Detail, *from:* KARAGEORGHIS, V.-DES GAGNIERS, J., *l.c.*, p.7.

5. Kaloriziki Tomb 11, 9th century B.C. Amphoroid Krater, detail, *from:* KARAGEORGHIS, V.-DES GAGNIERS, J. *l.c.*, p.97.

Fig. 4. Representations of Phorminx-Players on Late Mycenaean and Cypriot Pictorial Vases

newcomers either had been natives of the Aegean, or else that they had been acculturated to the Mycenaean civilization (Muhly 1984; Karageorghis 1990). Their departure for Cyprus may or may not have been prompted by the events which had caused the various destructions at Mycenaean sites of LH IIIC Early/Developed (Fig. 3).[11] Furthermore, as has been aptly observed by M. Iacovou, the newcomers "had come to stay, but they did not uproot the indigenous society and apparently they did not exercise political control in LC IIIA" (Iacovou 1989, 53). Lately, the evidence of Alassa has largely underlined this view (Hadjisavvas 1989; 1992). But Aegean newcomers may well have laid the foundation of the intensified and continuous contacts between Cyprus and the West throughout the 12th century B.C. In fact, they also may have paved the way for the later arrival of Greek settlers in the island (see Karageorghis in this volume).

The LH IIIC Middle period of the Aegean comprises the ceramic phases LH IIIC Developed and Advanced (Fig. 1), not without regional overlaps. This period gave rise to a recreation or even a last blossoming of Mycenaean civilization, even if the grand achievements of the past were not recuperated. As we have already stated, the cultural decline after the collapse of the palace civilization was irreversible. Nevertheless, it was now that the positive effects of the breakdown of the hydrocephalic Mycenaean palace system became apparent (Deger-Jalkotzy, forthcoming). In particular, the Mycenaean regions which had been outside the palace states and which had been reduced to provinces in the disparaging meaning of the word, were now free to develop. The copiously decorated vases of LH IIIC Middle testify to the fact that it was no longer a few centres which dictated the fashions of the time. Each Mycenaean region now created an individual elaborate pottery style of its own and contributed, at the same time, to the overall stylistic ceramic features of the period (Schachermeyr 1980; Sherratt 1981, 484-91; Mountjoy 1986, chapter 9). Moreover, the burial gifts found in the cemeteries e.g. of Arcadia (Palaeokastro), Achaia, Phokis (Elateia) and of the Aegean islands give evidence that by LH IIIC Middle the peripheral provinces of Mycenaean Greece, too, enjoyed prosperity and that economic enterprise and foreign relations were open to them all.

It follows that the LH IIIC Middle period has left behind ample evidence of lively trade and cultural relationship among the Mycenaean provinces of the Aegean, as well as with areas abroad. LC IIIA Cyprus, too, entertained relationship with Western countries at that time, chiefly of a mercantile nature (cf. Macdonald 1986; Muhly, Maddin, Stech 1988; Knapp 1990; Sherratt 1992a; Vagnetti, Lo Schiavo 1989; Bouzek 1991). Cultural relationships with the Aegean can be detected particularly in the fields of bronzework (Catling 1964; 1986; Snodgrass 1981) and pottery production (Sherratt 1981, 227-33). The cultural potency of Cyprus had reached a point of culmination, for reasons which are not the subject of this paper. But it makes us understand the phenomenon that now Aegean craftsmanship sometimes was inspired by Cypriot prototypes (Matthäus 1985; 1987; Sherratt 1992b, 195; Cook 1988—as I am going to explain elsewhere, the introduction of the so-called "White Ware" into the Aegean ceramics of LH IIIC Advanced also seems to be due to Cypriot influence).

Conversely, it is striking that "noble vases" of the above mentioned LH IIIC Middle elaborate pottery, which circulated in the Aegean as objects of prestige, of diplomatic exchange and perhaps of merchandise too (Kanta 1980, 294ff., Sherratt 1981, 526ff.; Schachermeyr 1980, 97f.),

11. The occurrence of "Barbarian" pottery (Pilidou 1992), of the violin-bow shaped type of fibulae (Karageorghis-Demas 1988, 227), of weaponry of ultimately non-Mycenaean origin (cf. Matthäus 1985, Anhang) suggest that probably not all newcomers were "Achaeans" to the bone (cf. Karageorghis 1990, 29 and Muhly 1984, 52).

did not make their entry into Cyprus, although they came as far as Southern Italy (cf. Taylour 1958, pl. 13: 10, 11,14; pl. 14: 12-4) and the Levant (e.g. Balensi 1981). Nor does the elaborate local pottery of LC IIIA appear to be appreciably influenced by the Close Style, Octopus Style and Narrative Style (see below) of the Aegean.

So the archaeological evidence of LC IIIA does not necessarily suggest the idea of large-scale immigrations from Greece to Cyprus during LH IIIC Middle. In this connection it must be underlined that the inception of the so-called "wavy-line style" of Cypriot pottery cannot be used as evidence for Mycenaean immigration to Cyprus (Sherratt 1981, 234-7; Iacovou 1992a, 203f.). Individual immigrations cannot be excluded, only they would not show archaeologically.

It may be suggested however, that the LH IIIC Middle period of Greece made an *indirect* contribution to the formation of the Cypriot culture of the 11th century B.C.

Among the elaborate styles of LH IIIC Middle a narrative pictorial style emerged which was popular in the Eastern Mainland parts of Greece but also known in other parts of the Aegean. Favourite themes were chariot scenes (Vermeule, Karageorghis 1982, XI.1-41), seafaring (*Ibid.*, XI.92-6; XII.30-3; XIII.6), hunting (*Ibid.* XI.70-80), dancing (*Ibid.* XI.67; Åström 1986) and above all, fighting and warfare (see above, p. 16). It may be assumed that these representations reflected the lifestyle of the period's social élite, or else that they were the images of an ideal lifestyle by which a social élite set its own standards, as well as it defined its status vis-à-vis other social groups. In short, their interpretation as ciphers, symbols and images of what is generally called an "aristocratic" group-awareness and claim of social leadership stands to reason. Moreover, these pictures seem to emphasize a more or less exclusively male conduct which may well deserve the epithet "heroic". At the same time, it is striking that themes and even entire scenes of LH IIIC Middle pictorial vases recur in the pictorial repertoire of Late Geometric vase-painting. Without excluding the possibility that Mycenaean traditions in the field of fine arts were handed down across the "Dark Age" centuries—albeit through various intricate channels (cf. Coldstream 1988; Grunwald 1989; Blome 1991; Kourou 1991)—we would suggest that in the present case a *tertium comparationis* be applied: On the analogy of the interpretation of the Late Geometric images as influence from Ionian epic poetry on the 8th century B.C. lifestyle (Coldstream 1977, 352-6), I have put forward the view that their LH IIIC Middle predecessors were likewise stimulated by contemporary epic heroic poetry (Deger-Jalkotzy 1991a; 1991b). Indeed, the generally "heroic" atmosphere of male prowess in hunting, fighting and seafaring, of women lamenting the departure (or death) of men (and sons?), of abounding fantasies of monsters and mythical creatures, of dancing and of feasting, would support this view. Not entirely surprisingly, a LH IIIC Middle vase from Tiryns displays the image of a phorminx-player (Fig. 4:1; see also below). He may stand as a symbol of the generations of forerunners of Homer, bards who first amalgamated the old legacy of Mycenaean poetry with the heroic tales which were to the taste of their own contemporaries (Deger-Jalkotzy 1991a; 1991b). The roots of the Greek epic may well go back as far as the Early Mycenaean period, and the Mycenaean palace period also must have contributed to the stock of Greek epic tales (cf. most recently West 1988 with ref.). However, a decisive formative stage within the development of oral epic poetry in hexameter verse, praising the deeds and heroes of a glorious past, should be attributed to the post-palatial Mycenaean LH IIIC period (cf. Miller 1982; West 1988; Peters 1989; Risch 1991; Forssman 1991, each under widely varying premises). The evidence of LH IIIC Middle architecture (Tiryns; Lefkandi phase 2; Teichos Dymaion; Aigeira phase 2; Koukounaries etc.), as well as status symbols like "sceptres" (Perati: Iacovidis 1970 B, 349; Ialysos T. 17/66: Benzi 1992, tav. 183 a-c; Teichos Dymaion: Papadopoulos 1979, fig. 307c; Aigeira: unpubl.), and, of course,

the period's luxury vases point to the existence of courtly residences, seats of power at the centre of small-scale principalities. These courts may well have set the scene for aristocratic feasts, frequently symposia in character (note that the narrative pictorials are mainly found on large kraters which were accompanied by a rich array of drinking vessels) and of recitals of heroic epic poetry. When the decline of LH IIIC Middle and the final phases of the Mycenaean civilization, as has already been mentioned, was again accompanied by destruction and by migrations, the art of oral epic poetry was transferred to those areas where it was cultivated until the days of Homer.

It was, of course, in Ionia where the Greek epic thereafter burst into flower and eventually gave rise to what has been called the "Greek Renaissance" of the 8th century B.C. (Snodgrass 1971, 416ff.), but a branch of early Greek heroic poetry may have also come as far as Cyprus. Cypriot epic poetry is connected with the name of Stasinos. He is one of the authors to whom the ancient tradition ascribed the composition of the *Kypria*, an epic which dealt with the prehistory of the Trojan War (Lesky 1971, 103). Stasinos was also said to have been married to the daughter of Homer (Proklos Chrest. 22). That this myth was perhaps not entirely without a kernel of reality is indicated by the striking parallels between the vocabulary of the Homeric epics and the ancient Cypriot words which have been preserved by ancient glosses. Indeed, it has been suggested that these analogies may be explained in terms of a common cultural inheritance of Greek and Cypriot epics (J.V. Karageorghis 1988, 192 with ref.). Cypriot heroic poetry also may have formed the background of a notoriously archaic passage of the Iliad. In *Il.* XI.15ff. a reference is made to a personal acquaintance between Kinyras and Agamemnon. These allusions could have been properly appreciated only by the Greeks of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. if the story of Kinyras had been already familiar from other sources, presumably from tales or epics. Epic words of high antiquity also have been preserved by Cypriot inscriptions already of the Archaic age (Masson 1975). It is perhaps not without significance that most of them were found in the area of Paphos, the residence of mythical Kinyras.

In this connection the corpus of pictorial pottery of 11th century B.C. Cyprus also should be considered (which has been analyzed by M. Iacovou: 1988; 1992b). The images of warriors and hunters, of fantastical creatures and of mythical scenes depicted on these vases compare well thematically with the pictorial representations of LH IIIC Middle vases of the previous century. Although a tradition of imagery has to be excluded for reasons of chronology and of style, the two series of pictorial vase-painting perhaps were not totally unrelated to each other. A tradition by means of a non-visual discipline, namely of epic poetry may be suggested on the evidence of two human figures of the 11th century Cypriot corpus. One is the famous warrior-musician represented on a kalathos found in the area of Paphos, in Tomb 9 of Kouklia-*Xerolimni* (Karageorghis 1967, 5 and pl. I; our Fig. 4: 2). What he holds in his hands is not the harp played by the musicians of two Cypriot bronze stands of an earlier date (Catling 1964, 205-10), nor is it the large lyre nor the kithara depicted on Minoan and Mycenaean representations of the palace period (Wegner 1968, U24ff.). Different from those five- to seven-chorded instruments, the Kouklia musician plays a small lyre with three strings, an early version of the phorminx of the epic singers (Wegner l.c. U2ff.). A similar instrument is plucked by the musician of the above mentioned sherd from Tiryns (Fig. 4:1). Unfortunately, neither the body nor the garment of the Tiryns instrumentalist have been preserved. The Kouklia bard wears no long robe. With his tunic ending well above the knees and his sword concealed by a splendidly tasselled sheath, he reminds us of the warriors depicted on Mycenaean LH IIIC Middle vases (cf. our Fig. 4: 3, from Lefkandi). Heroic poetry have also may inspired the painter of a figure on

a PWP pyxis of a markedly Aegean shape (Iacovou 1988, figs 34-6). The figure is covered by what appears to represent a figure-of-eight body-covering shield and extends a kylix. The representation of pronounced "heroic" Mycenaean warrior equipment, which had been out of practical use for centuries but was embedded in the Greek epic tradition until the age of Homer, together with a Mycenaean drinking vessel *par excellence,* doubtless conveys the atmosphere of heroic poetry.

The shield-covered toasting figure and the Kouklia musician have been interpreted as status symbols of a Greek upper stratum of 11th century Cypriot society (Coldstream 1989) and, very ingeniously, as symbols of a Greek-speaking past being used for a specifically Greek élite group-identity in Cyprus (Sherratt 1992a, 332-8). On the basis of our analysis we may add also that it may well have been heroic epic poetry which nourished and supported the "heroic" masculine ideals, as well as the retrospective character of the elitist self-awarenes of the Cypriot Greek ruling class. It is perhaps no mere coincidence that Cypriot representations of lyre-players of an earlier date than the 11th century B.C. have so far not been found. Moreover, the lyres depicted on Cypriot vases of the 9th (Fig. 4: 5) and 8th (Fig. 4: 4) centuries B.C. are clearly of an Aegean pedigree and differ from oriental lyres (Aign 1963,156f.). Of particular interest is the phorminx of the Hubbard Amphora of the 8th century B.C. (Fig. 4: 4). Although it displays the four strings of contemporaneous Greek lyres, its shape comes much closer to the phorminx of the LH IIIC Middle sherd from Tiryns (Fig. 4: 1).

So the parallels between the representations on 11th century Cypriot and 12th century Mycenaean pictorial vases, as well as the similarities between Homeric and ancient Cypriot words have led us to suggest that epic poetry was part of the cultural heritage which Cyprus owed to 12th century B.C. Greece.[12] Another indirect 12th century "Achaean" (=Mycenaean) Greek bequest to 11th century B.C. Cyprus may concern the patterns of social organization and political structure (cf. Willetts 1988; Coldstream 1989). This is particularly apparent in the case of royal nomenclature. Neither *βασιλεύς* nor *ἄναξ/ἄνασσα* were used in Cyprus in the same sense as they had been in the Linear B texts of the LH IIIB period. The connotation of both terms had charged (for *βασιλεύς* cf. above, p. 16) before they were transferred to Cyprus. It may well have been the petty kings and princes of LH IIIC Middle who first adapted these titles to a transformed concept of kingship and rule (Deger-Jalkotzy 1989, 145ff.; 1991a, 64ff.).

We have to draw to a close. It already will have become apparent that I do not believe that the speakers of a specifically Cypriot Greek dialect made themselves considerably felt in Cyprus before the end of LH IIIC Middle. In fact, occasional vase fragments with the hallmarks of LH IIIC Middle/Late were found at Kition, in the habitation level between Floors III and II (Karageorghis-Demas 1985, pls XLVI: 788/1; CXL: 4493), but at Enkomi, in larger numbers, not until an advanced phase of Level IIIB (Dikaios 1969-71, pls 78: 21, 80: 1, 2,4, 82: 24). It may be suggested, therefore that it was during the period between LH IIIC Middle (Advanced) and the end of the Mycenaean civilization (LH IIIC Final/Submycenaean) that the Aegean prelude to the 11th century of Cyprus ended. The history of these years, however, eludes us more than ever.

12. During my lecture at the Symposion I further drew attention to the fact that the Cypriot Early Iron Age representations of lyre-players (both in vase-painting and in the coroplastic art) were paralleled by respective Near Eastern and Anatolian images and figurines of musicians. It may therefore well have been Cypriot epic singers—and not educated and Hellenized Levantine priests, seers, healers or even craftsmen (cf. West 1988)—who incorporated Near Eastern myths and poetic themes into the Greek tradition and transmitted them to the Greek mother-country (on West-Ionian epic poetry of the 10th and 9th centuries B.C. cf. Miller 1982; West 1988; Peters 1989). For reasons of limited space this subject will be elaborated elsewhere.

Although there is some evidence that several Mycenaean sites and regions suffered destruction and abandonment (cf. Figs 2 and 3), others seem to have remained unaffected. More archaeological evidence is needed before we can embark upon a reconstruction of the events which accompanied the end of the Late Bronze Age of Greece. Apparently each region, if not every single community, experienced an individual fate during the transition from the closing Mycenaean era to the Protogeometric Age. To some, this fate meant emigration, if we think of Achaia (Papadopoulos 1978/79, 107-15; Deger-Jalkotzy 1991c, 27ff.), Laconia (Demacopoulou 1982, 131f.; Coulson 1985) and some centres in the Argolid (Kilian 1985, 77). The ancient Greeks themselves preserved a faint memory, glossed over by myths and sagas, of the population groups and *ethnē* who left their homelands of the Peloponnese (Sakellariou 1958; 1990), among them the "Arcadians" and the "Achaeans" who headed for Cyprus (Sakellariou 1988).

On archaeological grounds, population groups of Rhodes, Eastern Attica, Crete and of the NW Peloponnese have been enumerated among the colonists who came to Cyprus in the wake of the 11th century B.C. From the linguistic point of view, we also ought to remember that the area(s) of their origin should have enabled them to develop the isoglosses with Arcadian (see above, 12f.) and that the Cypriot dialect also should have come under influence of Aeolic which was not shared by Arcadian.[13]

Under these premises, the linguistic data (see above, 11ff.) and what little archaeological evidence that has been published would favour the southern neighbours of the Arcadians, that is to say people from northern Laconia, to have been among the main bulk of Greek colonists of Cyprus. Indeed, in view of the late Mycenaean votives found at the Amyklaion site of wheel-made bull-rhyta (Demacopoulou 1982, esp. pls 27-30; 35f.), of the Goddess with uplifted arms (compare e.g. Demacopoulou 1982, pls 18: 47-9; 23: 63 with Karageorghis, Demas 1985, pls CLXII: 3879; CXLIX: 589), of a small bird (Demacopoulou 1982, pl. 49; cf. I. Lemos in this volume) Laconian elements of latest Mycenaean character could well have contributed to the cultural make-up of 11th century Cyprus. The same may be said of the very few vases which have been published from the important Laconian cemetery at Pellana (cf. Demacopoulou 1982, pl. 57: 127, 129, 130) and again from Amyklai (*Ibid.*, pl. 52). A small bronze lyre (dated by Demacopoulou 1982, 76f. to PG rather than to LH IIIC) and representations of lyre-players on Geometric vases (Wegner 1968, U16ff.) from various Laconian sites testify that the epic phorminx was not unknown to this region. Moreover, the attestation of Apollon Amyklaios at Idalion has often been used as a testimony of pre-Doric Laconian links with Cyprus (Willetts 1988, 42f., with ref.). Last but not least, the dramatic reduction of archaeological finds in Laconia for ca. 150 years, in the 11th and the 10th centuries B.C. (Coulson 1985), would support the idea of emigrations after the Mycenaean civilization had come to a close.

Crete, too, has been often quoted as a candidate for the origin of colonisation movements into Cyprus (cf. Desborough 1972, 30ff.; 49ff.). It is therefore noteworthy that isoglosses with Arcado-Cypriot (see above, 11ff.), religious and historical traditions (Willetts 1988) and some elements of the material culture reveal relationships of *Central* Crete not only with 11th century Cyprus, but also with Laconia. In terms of visual arts and crafts, this "triangle" can be attested by a comparison between the Laconian figurines and vases mentioned earlier, the cultural repertory of 11th century Cyprus, and Cretan finds from Knossos (Desborough *l.c.*), Axos (Kanta 1980, fig. 83: 7, 8), Patsos (*Ibid.*, fig. 84: 3-10; 85: 1-4), Tylisos (*Ibid.* figs 1 and 2) and

13. Cf. above nos 5 and 6.

the Sacello at Hagia Triada (Banti 1941-3, e.g. figs 35, 41, 45, 46; Kanta 1980, 102f.). It is also clear that the Central Cretan area had been subject to a Greek speaking dominance since the introduction of the Linear B administration at Knossos and at Chania. However, the existence of a large urban settlement at Knossos throughout the Dark Ages (Coldstream 1991) and our limited knowledge of the Dark Ages of Crete in general should caution against the idea of a large-scale emigration from Crete to Cyprus. Above all, it is difficult to assess what kind of relationship may have produced the cultural ties between Laconia and Central Crete during the latest Mycenaean phases. Nor is it easy to establish in which direction the influences went within the Laconian-Cretan-Cypriot relationships (see also Willetts 1988).

The ancient tradition about Achaean colonists from Dyme who came to Cyprus may find some support by the bird-vases found in the cemeteries of West Achaia (cf. I. Lemos in this volume). Contacts between people from Achaia and Rhodes could have led finally to an Aeolic influence upon the Cypriot dialect, which was not shared by Arcadian (on the Aeolization of the Peloponnese and the islands in pre-Doric times cf. Peters 1989, 6-17; 1986).

Returning now to the initial question "When did the process of Hellenization start in Cyprus?", we may conclude therefore that it depends on the interpretation of this term. The history of Cyprus more often than not has been closely connected with the economic interests, the political decisions and even the historical fate of the great powers of Europe and the Near East. It is therefore, a remarkable phenomenon that Cyprus, during a period free from big power policy after 1200 B.C., following the collapse of the Hittite Empire and during a period of weakness of the Assyrian Empire, turned West. In the light of this fact, the Aegean elements of LC IIIA should be explained not only in terms of commercial interests and the activities of proficient artists, nor should they be underrated. In this respect, I fully underline what has been said today by Professor Karageorghis.

However, if we interpret the Hellenization of Cyprus only in terms of the actual human presence of larger numbers of Greek inhabitants, then we arrive at some time between the end of LH IIIC Middle and the latest stages of Mycenaean development. In other words, the establishment of Cypriot speaking Greeks on Cyprus seems to have taken place the eve, or even on the dawn, of the 11th century B.C.

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